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ORIGIN INR-00

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INFO	LOG-00	AF-01	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00
	EUR-01	HA-09	H-01	TEDE-00	IO-19	L-03	ADS-00
	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01
	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00

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R 071903Z APR 93
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY KIGALI
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABADAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY HARARE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY BAMAKO
INFO AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY BONN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 104612

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: XA, PREL, PINR, PINS, MOPS, RW

SUBJECT: INR ANALYSIS: OAU/RWANDA: BLESSED ARE THE
PEACEKEEPERS

"ROME FOR BERG AND ALSO FOR VATICAN, LONDON FOR MC
KINLEY, BRUSSELS FOR DUBROW, MADRID FOR CLARKE, PARIS
FOR PERLOW, USNATO FOR HAMILTON, BONN FOR KLEMP,

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1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT

2. INR'S APRIL 4 ANALYSIS ENTITLED "OAU/RWANDA: BLESSED ARE THE PEACEKEEPERS" IS PROVIDED FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND COMMENT, AS APPROPRIATE.

EGIN TEXT

3. IN RWANDA, THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU) HAS BEEN ASKED TO EXPAND ITS ONLY PEACEKEEPING UNIT, BUT THE FORCE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO MAINTAIN THE CEASEFIRE IF EITHER SIDE WANTS TO VIOLATE IT.

4. THOUGH MAJOR PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS ARE BEING RUN BY THE UN IN SOMALIA, ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE, AND BY THE ECONOMIC COUNCIL OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS) IN LIBERIA, THE OAU IS JUST BEGINNING TO INVOLVE ITSELF IN
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PEACEKEEPING FOR THE FIRST TIME IN A DECADE. SEARCHING FOR RELEVANCE IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA, PARTICIPANTS AT LAST SUMMER'S OAU SUMMIT RESOLVED TO TAKE A MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN AFRICAN CONFLICT RESOLUTION.

5. LAST JULY THE OAU AGREED TO SEND A 50-MAN FORCE TO RWANDA TO MONITOR A CEASEFIRE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND REBELS OF THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF). IN THE WAKE OF A CEASEFIRE BREAKDOWN IN FEBRUARY AND AFTER A MARCH 7 CEASEFIRE ACCORD THAT CALLED FOR RESUMING PEACE TALKS, THE OAU IS BEING ASKED TO EXPAND ITS FORCE TO 500 PERSONS TO OPERATE IN A LARGE SECTION OF NORTHERN RWANDA.

6. AMBITIOUS OBJECTIVES. THE 500 OAU TROOPS ARE TO ACT AS AN INTERPOSITIONAL FORCE" TO PATROL AN AREA NEARLY THE SIZE OF DELAWARE OCCUPIED BY THE RPF IN ITS FEBRUARY OFFENSIVE. BECAUSE THE RPF IS TO LEAVE THIS AREA AND GOVERNMENT FORCES ARE NOT TO MOVE BACK IN, IT APPEARS THE OAU FORCE WILL BE EXPECTED TO PROVIDE SOME LOCAL ADMINISTRATION. THE OAU HAS ASKED THE UN TO HELP WITH EXPENSES ESTIMATED AT 2-3 MILLION DOLLARS PER MONTH, BUT NEITHER TROOPS NOR MONEY HAVE YET BEEN FOUND. KIGALI AND ITS FRENCH ALLIES WOULD PREFER THAT A UN FORCE SUPPLEMENT THE OAU, BUT THE RPF INSISTS THE OAU DO THE

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7. LIMITED CAPABILITIES. THE CURRENT 50-MAN OAU FORCE THAT ARRIVED IN SEPTEMBER PROVED INCAPABLE OF MONITORING A NO-MAN'S LAND A FEW HUNDRED YARDS WIDE STRETCHING ACROSS NORTHERN RWANDA. ITS TROOPS--FROM MALI, NIGERIA, SENEGAL AND ZIMBABWE--ARE MOSTLY COMPETENT, BUT THERE

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ARE TOO MANY OFFICERS AND TOO FEW SOLDIERS, AND ALL SPEND MORE TIME IN KIGALI THAN IN THE FIELD.

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KIGALI MISTRUSTS THE OAU FORCE, BELIEVING THE RPF'S FEBRUARY ATTACK BENEFITED FROM INTELLIGENCE PASSED BY RPF OBSERVERS ATTACHED TO THE FORCE.

8. THE PROPOSED 500-MAN FORCE WITH ITS MORE AMBITIOUS MANDATE COULD HELP FOCUS INTERNATIONAL ATTENTION AND POLITICAL PRESSURE ON BOTH SIDES TO ABIDE BY CEASEFIRE AGREEMENTS. BUT AN OAU FORCE OF ANY SIZE WOULD LACK THE PRESTIGE, MEDIA ATTENTION, AND INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT OF A UN FORCE AND WOULD THUS PROBABLY BE LESS EFFECTIVE. THOUGH IT CAN SERVE AS AN HONEST BROKER, IT CANNOT ENFORCE A CEASEFIRE IF EITHER SIDE WANTS TO BREAK IT.

9. TOUGH CUSTOMERS. EVEN IF A SETTLEMENT IS REACHED BETWEEN THE RPF AND KIGALI, IT WILL BE TENUOUS. THE RPF IS DOMINATED BY ETHNIC TUTSI WHO CONSTITUTE LESS THAN 14 PERCENT OF RWANDA'S POPULATION. IN PEACE TALKS, IT HAS BEEN ABLE TO SEEK POLITICAL INFLUENCE OUT OF PROPORTION TO TUTSI NUMBERS BECAUSE IT HAS USED VIOLENCE MORE EFFECTIVELY THAN THE GOVERNMENT TO ADVANCE POLITICAL GOALS. IT WILL DO SO AGAIN IF THE GOVERNMENT IS NOT SUFFICIENTLY ACCOMMODATING.

10. THOUGH PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA HAS RECENTLY TAKEN A CONCILIATORY LINE, THE POWERFUL HUTU RIGHT WING HAS BEEN EXCLUDED FROM THE TALKS, AND ANTI-TUTSI RESENTMENT HAS

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GROWN SINCE THE RPF'S FEBRUARY ATTACK KILLED SOME 2,000
AND MADE UP TO A MILLION HOMELESS. INTENSIFIED ETHNIC
VIOLENCE REMAINS A STRONG POSSIBILITY. CHRISTOPHER

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